

601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied
604 also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship
605 was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

582 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing
604 between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations,
● 835 rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

Handy—The Native Culture in the Marquesas

71 835
602

hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

582
602
784
834
841
944

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

586

BIRTH AND INFANCY

BIRTH RITES

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

943

through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more or less permanently. 583
848

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. 582
[597]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke*; there must be "four individuals between" (*e fa enata*).

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582
brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835
and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law (*motunoai* with *hunona*). Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced (*tuia*) husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasional cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo*, literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts (*pahupahu*) and their nephews and nieces (*iamutu*). 582
The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *iamutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *iamutu*, in other words, before there could have been any such

/55 cont./

are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824] hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u) before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration. 835

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587 levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay 835

/57 cont./

on Nuku Hiva, only two were known, while an additional re- 835
ported incident ultimately proved to be an attempt at slander.
Of the two occurrences, one involved a brother-sister relation-
ship. The girl in this case was particularly promiscuous by
native standards, being frequently compared to a pig or dog [825]
in her mating habits. Her brother, also possessed of a poor
reputation, was married to a syphilitic tubercular, with whom [164]
he did not wish to consort, preferring the company of the
promiscuous girls and often his sister.

The other case involved a mother-son relationship. This [786]
occurred in public during an orgy of drinking, at a time when
the mother was unconscious and the son completely disoriented.

The sentiment against incest within the nuclear family 626
is quite strong, with the imputation of incest being enough to 835
seriously damage an individual's reputation. A middle-aged
man had a single child, a daughter, of whom he was quite
fond. He carefully protected her from males, hoping to
marry her well. In overprotecting his daughter he incurred
the wrath of a number of suitors. One of these, who had been
involved in trouble with the girl's family previously, spread
the rumor that he (the suitor) had had intercourse with the
girl and that she had not proved /58/ virginal. When asked
who had deflowered her, according to the boy she implicated
her father, saying that they had intercourse in the bush while
supposedly cutting copra.

The effect of this rumor was such that the father rushed
the girl into an early marriage with an undesirable boy to
prove that he was not being overly possessive of his daughter
for ulterior reasons.

The most frequent incest is that between first cousins. 605
One of the reasons for the transgression of this tapu is the 835
relatively small size of population units, in many of which it
is often impossible to find an unrelated eligible female.
In a valley such as Ho'oumi (1958), for example, only two
nubile girls were present in a population of approximately 35. [162]

/67 cont. /

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not.

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts.

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation.

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural.

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females.

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between

/108 cont. /

aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.

182
838

178
835
[582]
[604]

[606]

178
835
605

[161]

839

[538]
[773]